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AN
EXAMINATION
OF THE
PRINCIPLES
AND
BOASTED DISINTERESTEDNESS

OF A LATE
RIGHT HONOURABLE GENTLEMAN.

In a LETTER from an OLD MAN of Business, to
a NOBLE LORD.

He fell from his Duty, and all his former Friends;
and this he did so meanly, that he seemed to all men
to have lost his Wits when he lost his Honesty.

CLARENDON.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-House, in
Piccadilly. 1766.

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

IT may not be amiss to premise to the Reader, that the Noble Lord to whom this Letter was addressed, without waiting for an opinion, which he had very earnestly desired, kissed hands for a Lucrative Office, a very few hours before the following reasons were sent him. The Writer, tho' he thinks diffidently of his style, is too well persuaded of the cogency of his argument, not to submit it to the Public.

This Day is Published,

(A New EDITION being the FOURTH, *Corrected*) of
AN ENQUIRY into the CONDUCT of a LATE
RIGHT HONOURABLE COMMONER. Price
1s. 6d.

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington House, in
Piccadilly.

Where may be had,

A New Satirical PRINT, entitled,
THE PRECIPICE, &c.

And speedily will be Published,

PYNSSENT'S GHOST.

*Thou, Jaffer! thou my once lov'd, valued Friend!
By Heav'n thou ly'st—the Man so call'd, my Friend,
Was generous, honest, faithful, just, and valiant——
But thou, a wretched, base, false, wretched Coward,
Poor ruin in Soul, and hateful in thy Aspect:
All Eyes must shun thee, and all Hearts detest thee!*

Q.TWAY.

A N

E X A M I N A T I O N, &c,

My L O R D,

I AM very sensible of the honour which your Lordship has done me, in desiring my opinion, what it is fit for you to do in the present public crisis; and tho' I might well have excused myself, from many personal considerations, particularly those of an infirm state of health, (which however has not yet procured me either Pension or Peerage) and a consequent disinclination to any thing that has the appearance of business; yet you are so well entitled upon all occasions to my best judgment, that I determined without delay to communicate to you my thoughts, however imperfect they may be, upon a subject of such importance to your character and credit. Your Lordship's letter informs me, that you have been earnestly pressed to accept of a lucrative office, and so far I must say the proposition comes fairly before you. Indeed, I ought to congratulate you upon

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this singular mark of attention, at a time when defiance and neglects have been so liberally scattered among the first nobility of this kingdom. You have neither been told as a noble Duke politely was, *that you might have an office if you would* * ; or in the peremptory stile used to a Right Honorable Commoner, *that you must either take this office or none* † ; the arrangements were not all made before you was sent to, and then a careless intimation given, *that such an office was still vacant* ‡ : but I understand that so just an idea was entertained of your abilities and consideration, that the application was made to you with an earnestness, which, whether sincere or not, preserves appearances at least, and leaves you at liberty to adopt the offer, if in other respects it shall be found consistent with your principles and reputation. I address myself the more confidently to you upon this subject, because I persuade myself you are satisfied of my zeal for your well-doing ; and should we happen to differ in our conclusions, it would be one of those friendly differences in which our tempers will never be brought to interpose.

Your Lordship tells me, you are pressed to accept of a lucrative office, the rank of which is suitable to your credit, and the profit convenient to your fortunes. I must hope, that the emolument is not *necessary*
to

* D, of P—d. † C. T—d. ‡ Mr. D—w—ll.

to your circumstances ; for in that case it were an idle waste of words, to trouble you with an opinion you are not at liberty to follow : and were my judgment for your acceptance, you would be still less in want of the reasons upon which that judgment is founded. The domestic arguments for it would be sufficient. I flatter myself you are not one of those *quorum virtutibus obstat Res angusta domi*. But in truth, my Lord, be that as it may, as far as I am able to form any opinion of this matter, you cannot, must not accept of the employment now tendered to you ; you cannot do it if you consider your own credit and dignity, must not, if you reflect upon what you owe to the public.

Consider a little the state of parties ; the situation of this country ; the temper of the late negotiation ; the little likelihood of permanency, unless, paradoxical as it may seem, the frequency of the late Changes may have lulled individuals into security ;—and you will not be without reasons to give a sanction to your refusal.

The session of Parliament had been concluded for some weeks with what, I suppose on the account of the poverty of our language, had been termed success. I would sooner however forgive an American Assembly for making use of that expression, than I would indulge a British P——t in the adoption of it. The only possible light in

which it can be consistently called success, is, arithmetically speaking, when the numbers which had so lately been convinced of the expediency of taxing America, now declared it inexpedient to make use of that power, and have in the opinion of most men precluded themselves for ever from exerting it at all. So pacifick was the outward scene of things, that the late Premier of the Treasury, in the fulness of his security, and, as the event justified, in the height of vanity and presumption, declared, “ He had thrown PITT
“ and GRENVILLE upon their backs, and he
“ would give them Lord BUTE into the
“ bargain.” In a few days after this, Lord ROCKINGHAM was given to understand that Mr. PITT was sent to, by whose advice did not appear. The fact was barely stated and spoke more fully of itself than the most laboured comment could have taught it to explain. However differently received it might be when it became notorious, it plainly shewed the insincerity of those protestations which the late Ministers had been continually throwing out to the Public : those gentlemen, who had all the winter bowed themselves at the feet of Mr. PITT, declaring, that they had no opinion of their own, that they desired to refer every thing to him, to resign their offices, their sentiments, whenever he thought proper to accept of them ; and that they wished nothing so
much

much as to lift under him ; now, upon the first mention of his name, betrayed all that fear and confusion which might naturally be expected from weak, uncertain, unsteady minds ; and instead of attempting to parry the attack, or to receive it with fortitude, fell to mutual recrimination ; and to the laying hold on every shadow of a cause that could present itself to their fancies. Hence that language which was very current in the head quarters of administration. “ This is
 “ a trap laid by Lord B—— for Mr. P— ;
 “ he is ruined if he gives into the proposal ;
 “ ——Why was not the proposition made
 “ to us ; you know we always told you that
 “ you ought to take him in betimes, or he
 “ would be forced in upon us. It was much
 “ better in the last K——’s time, when
 “ those who were out of favour, or on the
 “ verge of the R——l displeasure, were
 “ constantly rumped ; we were smiled into
 “ destruction, &c.” The only reason they did *not* give for the step which had been taken without their privity and consent, was, that which was the most public, viz. the little care they had taken to fulfil the expectations of the people, or the intentions of their master ; the inability they had shewn in the conduct of Government Business, and the disunion and dissatisfaction which they were continually expressing among themselves.

Finding,

Finding, however, after some time, that these complaints were mere lip labour, they betook themselves to the very disinterested task of compleating their jobs; loading foreign establishments with useless offices; crowding their Favourites into contracts, and all that variety of official distribution, which their inventions, edged by necessity, could suggest to them. Something now happened in political life, which clergymen tell us is often the case in religious matters. They were acting in their ministerial capacity as if they were to be ministers for ever; and when the day of account came, like guilty criminals, betook themselves to mutual accusation, instead of humiliation and repentance. What other secret motive, added to the public ostensible reason already mentioned, contributed to the resolution taken, of sending for Mr. PITT, I do not mean to enquire: it may be worth your Lordship's while, however, to examine in what degree this is to be imputed to the operations of that secret influence to which many are inclined to ascribe it, as it will determine the measure of confidence which it may be prudent to place in an administration so constituted. Without meaning to implead or arraign any man, you have a right to judge for yourself how far there is a reasonable prospect of stability, and what degree of reliance

liance is to be given to any plan of government.

For my part, when first the assurance of a change of administration was received, I felt the pleasure which every thinking and unbiassed man must feel ; for I thought that a Ministry inexperienced, factious, and whose abilities and intentions were esteemed slight and evil, were to give place to a more extensive and capable system. Glutted as men were with changes even to satiety, which had wearied out their love of novelty ; and the quick succession of which, had given to every thing the appearance of delusion ; there was a general hope expressed, that at length we should see all the abilities, integrity and experience of this country called around the throne, and engaged in the service of their country ; that for this purpose, all party distinctions were to be abolished, all resentments sacrificed, all proscriptions removed, and the efforts of all the King's subjects united, at a juncture, when all their efforts are no more than necessary ; and when dangers hang over this country, which those who know the most of her situation, fear the most.

The affectation which there was in the disappointed men of all parties, to turn the eyes of the public, and their wishes, towards Mr. PITT, was not, I own, a good preparation

preparation for a scheme of comprehension ; and the submissions that had been made to him by the Ministry, and the steps of condescension towards him from a greater person, tended still more to increase his confidence in himself. It was however still to be hoped, that the resolution which, it was said, the ——— had taken of not admitting Mr. PITT, except upon a plan of government first explained to him, that his own declarations in parliament of the necessity of giving vigour, experience and ability to the public offices, and confidence and permanency to government, by an *union* of all parties in one comprehensive system, and that his conjunction with a Noble Lord, whose sentiments of moderation, coalition and public spirit, on this subject were well known ; that all these motives united, the regards he owed to himself, his Brother, the Public, and the Crown, would have conquered the little passions of *Envy*, *Jealousy* or *Resentment*, and enabled him to fulfil the intentions of the King, and the wishes of the kingdom.

It was certainly with this view that he was sent for from Somersetshire, and Lord TEMPLE from Stowe. It was Mr. PITT's province to state to that Nobleman a plan of policy ; which, in fact, was, that Lord TEMPLE should stand a Capital Cypher in the most responsible situation in the kingdom,

dom, surrounded with persons who were intended to be equally Cyphers; and the whole to be under the absolute dominion and nomination of Mr. PITT, who was to hold the office of Lord Privy Seal, and consequently to take upon himself *no* share of *responsibility*, or of *trouble*, but in the degree in which he chose it. Every, the most remote, Dependant of Mr. PITT's was to be brought into place, and indeed all the intended Changes were calculated for that purpose: no alteration of measures was pretended to be introduced; and as to men, the Change consisted only in giving three or four of the principal offices in the kingdom to some of the immediate friends of Mr. PITT; who, together with General CONWAY, and the tail of the last Administration, were to compose the Ministry. This was the conciliating moderate proposal which Mr. PITT thought proper to make to Lord TEMPLE, and which he could easily foresee that his Lordship would never accept. The answer of the Noble Lord was such as every way became him; that his wish was to *unite* with Mr. PITT, but not to *obey* him; which neither his Situation, Character or Disposition, would suffer him to yield to, inconsistently with the opinions on public business, which he had delivered last year, and in support of some new measures, which, considering from what quarter they were to

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come,

come, it was not likely he should approve. His Lordship therefore immediately refused to accede to the proposition, which he thought highly improper to be made to him by one who knew that he would not accept it, and to whom he should never have thought, in the same situation, of making a like offer. Lord TEMPLE expressed an ardent wish of union, *General Union*, to give strength, reputation and permanency to government, for which end, he had endeavoured to lay aside private affections and partialities, and to summon to the public service, from every denomination and subdivision, that weight and ability, which is so essential to our present situation; and that he was concerned to find that Mr. PITT had adopted ideas of such little temper and moderation; that as this was the case, it was needless to talk farther upon principles which he could never admit. Upon Mr. PITT's repeatedly saying, "I mean, indeed, as the K—— has put the whole into my hands, to form the Outset, but we will afterwards go on *pari passu*; Pray what is it your Lordship wishes, what would you have?" Lord T—— after observing again, that it was needless to enter into particulars, when they differed in such essential fundamentals; took notice to Mr. PITT, of the quality of his proposition, which was no less, than to put him in the most laborious, difficult, responsible situation in the kingdom,

kingdom, surrounded by a Cabinet, composed entirely of men wholly averse to him, both in disposition and in politicks; while he (Mr. PITT) was to retire to a lucrative *Sine Cure*, with the power of naming to every department of government, and the privilege of answering for no one step, which that government was to take. That if Mr. PITT expected him to take so responsible a situation, it was but reasonable, at least, that he should have one man in the cabinet on whom he might rely, and mentioned Lord LYTTLETON in this view: the only answer made to this proposition, was some expression of contempt of that very able and learned Lord; whom the very last year Mr. PITT had himself proposed to have placed at the head of the Treasury. Lord TEMPLE being again pressed to say what he wished, went on to observe, that one great objection to the present plan, was the idea of proscription which it adopted; that it was particularly proper, at this time, to remove every imputation of that kind; and that therefore it must be for his Majesty's service, to take into government those, who by their extensive alliances and connections, as well as by their abilities, were likely to secure that unanimity to the public proceedings, which the situation of this country so evidently required. For this purpose, it was his Lordship's opinion, without any concert or communi-

cation with the party he was going to name; that Lord GOWER was very eligible upon every account that had been mentioned to be appointed Secretary of State. Mr. PITT would not hearken in the least to this nomination. Here therefore the conference was closed, Lord TEMPLE desiring Mr. PITT to remember, that he had given an instance of his moderation in not having stated his brother (Mr. GEORGE GRENVILLE) for any office; and that therefore his Lordship's refusal to concur with the present system, could not now be attributed to personal views for his own family.

I have been the more minute in the detail of what passed upon this occasion, that your Lordship may yourself judge what degree either of credit, or of permanency, is likely to be derived to a government, undertaken in a spirit of monopoly, under the guidance and direction of one man, who does not venture however to put himself *responsibly* at their head; and holding out a language of animosity and proscription, at a time when we are almost ruined by our party subdivisions. Is this the Esculapian hand, that is to heal the disorders of our State? This the promised balm to our broken and wounded condition? Notorious as the facts are, which have been mentioned, as having occurred in the late Negotiation, I scarcely expect to gain credit for
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the truth of them, with those who happen not to meet with (what however are in many hands) authentic proofs of it*.

In fact, whether you consider the purpose of Mr. PITT, or the means he used to execute it, they are both of them of such a nature, that as you need not envy that man his sentiments who could form and chuse them, so upon reflection, you will have but little inclination to join with him; and little expectation, that he who could acquire power in that manner, can exert it to the public good. Consider only the means which he used to free himself from a connexion which has ceased to be as necessary to him, as it had formerly been; to which he owes so much, and in which I remember to have heard him say in Parliament, *he would live and die*. Instead of acquainting that Lord openly, and without reserve, that he had changed his purposes, and wished to unite to the Party whom he found in possession of the Forts of Government; those whom he thought he could be assured would continue to be dependent upon himself, he endeavoured to throw on him the odium of a Refusal, by making him a proposal, which he knew must be refused. He had lived too long with his Relation,
not

* See THE ENQUIRY into the CONDUCT of a LATE RIGHT HONOURABLE COMMONER; which contains many things well worthy the reader's observation.

not to know that his sentiments were suitable to his Rank ; and that though he would readily have acted in conjunction with him, he never would submit to a subserviency. He knew that his object were measures, not men ; and that he could not accede to that Ministry, from which he had differed so widely in the last session upon points of the utmost importance, and from whom he must foresee a strong probability of his continuing to differ. To make therefore in such a situation, to such a person, so unfit a proposal, merely to endeavour to throw on him the appearance of a refusal, is not, in my opinion, a greater recommendation of his understanding, than of his heart. It is but an awkward piece of policy ; which does not require much sagacity to see through. — The circumstance of Mr. PITT's immediate intercourse with Mr. CONWAY, as soon as he came to town, and concerting with him every arrangement (from that office which respected himself, down even to the Provisional Allowances for Messrs. T— and O——) does not seem to favour the sincerity of his intentions towards Lord TEMPLE. But to pass from the means by which he chose to execute his Plan, to the Plan itself.

If great men had not great privileges, if heroes had not, in all times, been confessed to be too mighty to be bound by the little
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ties of those obligations which confine ordinary minds, the ingratitude of this conduct might be mentioned. It would certainly in any other character not be ranked among his virtues, that he had forsaken a Brother, to whom he is generally thought to be so much indebted, for the sake of *Place* and *Title*; but I readily acknowledge, that, in the present case, this step is greatly justified, when we reflect that it is to unite him to his *Old Friends*, Lord SHELburne, and Mr. CONWAY. But this is a private consideration. The next is of a public kind.

I have not enough of a Political Excise-man about me, to be able to gauge the veracity of a Statesman, or to know what will be the nett contents of his assertions; but in the common course of business, a man, who had made the declarations which I heard him make on the necessity of Temper, Harmony, and an Union of all Parties, who had been sent for upon the strength of these declarations, and whose first proposition was in direct contradiction to them, would in the City be called, *not a good man*. He appears to me to be exactly in the same form, with the man who gains admittance into your house, by his specious promises in advertisements to kill your rats, and who leaves your house filled with those rats which he has introduced, in order to secure to himself constant employment. But be it that

that the end sanctifies the means; and if the acquisition of ministerial power may be considered as a conquest, to use the expression which Tacitus I remember puts into the mouth of that able Partizan CIVILIS, *Victoriæ Rationem non reddi*. Having now the power in his hands, his first plan ought to have been, to have executed the power which he did not hesitate to accept, to have taken an office which made him *responsible*; to acknowledge that he possessed the *influence*, which he has used such pains to secure, and such methods to engross; and to stand forth as the *Guide* of that Ministry, which he had formed.

If this was rendered impossible by the uncertain state of his health, his duty to himself, to the Public, and to the Crown, required him to decline a power which he could not execute; and to leave those to form the Plans of Government, who must be *answerable* for the justice of them. To take, as he has done, the Honours and the Advantages without the Burthens; and while he directs the Puppets, to stand behind the scene, and exposing them to the danger, rejoice in his *Sine Cure*, is a conduct which can proceed but from one motive. It was indeed in his power to have formed a Ministry by concert; and it appears, that his noble relation was disposed to have accepted, what is in time of peace, the most laborious

honourable and most responsible office in the kingdom, upon a plan of general union. But our Minister thought it most for his glory and interest, that his peculiar dependents should be placed in the first offices of the kingdom; and that himself, without any hazard, should nominate and direct the whole; while his brother might, if he had chosen it, have undertaken the office of business, joined with a set of men from whom he had publicly differed on points of the greatest importance, and unsupported by any voice but his own, and that of one Lord, for whom he was with difficulty admitted to procure a seat.

To judge of this without prejudice, suppose for a moment that the two persons had changed characters. Imagine that Lord TEMPLE, after he had nominated to the two Seals, the Presidentship, and stipulated that all his friends, and no others, were to be provided for by removals, should have proposed to Mr. PITT to accept the office of most labour and risque. If this had been the case, what would the Public, what would Mr. PITT have said? They would not have thought the proposal either delicate, temperate or just, or the motives for it either honourable or disinterested; and whatever they would have thought, or said in that case, they will think and say now; for there is not, I presume, in the elements

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which

which compose the name of the late Great Commoner, that power of transmutation, which converts every thing done by him into just and right ;——there is not certainly in my estimation. I measure men by their actions, and therefore while I think of that gentleman as he deserves, I own I honour the conduct of his Brother.

It is not possible, but that this Nobleman, in the course of a long political life, must have contracted his Political Friendships and Dislikes ; but the moment the forming a Government came in view, he divested himself of both. He saw that to give it strength and reputation, it was necessary to bring into the public service, all the ability and experience which was to be found in any party ; and to form from thence one mass of power and weight. He proposed therefore a plan of general comprehension, to give a proof of the total removal of all Party Proscription, by calling into office a Nobleman, whose connections with a respectable Duke, as well as the esteem entertained of him, would unite to them a very formidable squadron. This proposal, to which no personal interest, nothing but the spirit of moderation and public zeal, could give rise, was rejected at once ; and Mr. PITT refused to admit one single person who had ventured to differ from him ; while he proposed to Lord TEMPLE, to unite himself to those who were
all

all known to entertain sentiments directly contrary to his own. But this Nobleman sacrificed not his resentments only, but what must have cost him much more pain, his affections too, for the sake of Public Union ; and tho' he must have wished that his Administration should receive the benefit of his Brother's abilities, though he could from no person be assured of such effectual and cordial support ; yet it is certain, that he did not propose him for any office ; among other reasons, it is well known for this, that his refusal might not be attributed to private motives.

I know not by what strange infatuation it was, that Mr. PITT could prevail upon himself to think, that the proposition offered to his Brother was such as it was fitting for him to make, or likely for Lord TEMPLE to accept. That unhappy concurrence which has been seen in men of most denominations, to turn the public eye and dependance towards one man, and which followed more from a dissatisfaction at what was present, than from a fixed expectation of a future remedy ; has encreased the self-confidence and despotism of that individual ; to that degree of intemperance, which was so evidently betrayed in the course of the late negociation. He had so frequently been told, that he alone could save this country, that we may the less wonder at his imagin-

ing, that he alone ought to direct its measures, to name its officers, to dispose of its revenues; and, in short, to influence *every* department of Government, without being liable to account for *any*. The Public therefore are to thank themselves for the exertion of that fierce spirit, which they have taken such pains to cultivate.

But tho' it is not difficult to trace to their source the reasons of Mr. PITT's conduct, it is by no means easy to discover the motives of those gentlemen who have lifted under his banner, and who are content to engage with him upon terms so very unequal. And this part of my subject, your Lordship will apply to yourself, as the grounds of my opinion, why you should not, by accepting an office at this time, rank yourself with those, who, for the sake of mere emolument, are not afraid to pledge their credit and safety to the Public, for measures which they are not allowed to plan; and from which, as long as they are in office, they must not dare to differ. Have they so soon forgot Mr. PITT's complaint against Lord BUTE when he was Groom of the Stole? Have they so soon forgot the declaration in his Apology to the City of London, "that he would not be responsible for measures which he was not allowed to *guide*?" Do they mean, to answer for those measures which they have no share in planning? Are they

they so much the Favourites of the Public, as to be able to sustain the odium, the very chance of which he thinks proper to avoid? Mr. PITT, they may be assured, will be so just to himself, as to take to his own share all the credit which may be derived from any success to the public proceedings; and he will be so indulgent to those who hold the official departments of government, as to heap upon them all the disgrace, which any public miscarriage may bring along with it. While the vessel glides in a smooth, easy current, *he* is the watchful pilot that is conducting her to the Haven: if tempests should arise, and there is any danger of the Ship's sinking, his infirmities, alas! will not suffer him to stand to the helm, and therefore he contents himself with going below the deck, and laying the blame on those who steer, for not pursuing a steady course.

After all the declamations with which we have been amused for some years against Favouritism, Mr. PITT has now chosen to exhibit himself to the public in the very popular character of a Favourite. What were his repeated complaints against Lord BUTE; but that his Lordship, in an office of no responsibility in itself, planned every public measure, and left those, who filled the government offices, to answer for those Counsels which he himself had advised?

What

What is Mr. PITT doing? Nothing less than taking a more lucrative office, and equally unresponsible, directing *every* public measure, and naming to *every* government office (which Lord BUTE never did) while he leaves those to answer for the success of his measures, whom he has named to their departments, but with whom he neither can or will concur in taking a share of public blame. If Mr. PITT is as really necessary to the situation of this country, as his Panegyrists have taught him to think, it must be equally necessary, that he should stand forth its *avowed* and *open* Minister, amenable to its displeasure, as well as a candidate for its applause.

But leaving those Gentlemen who chuse to engage upon such disadvantageous ground, it becomes your Lordship to consider, whom it is that you are now desired to join. It is the very Party, in which Mr. PITT declared, the latter end of last winter, that he could place no confidence. It is the very Party, whose solicitations you refused in the beginning of this spring: though you disclaimed at that time every private engagement that could influence your conduct, yet you wisely thought, that so fundamental a difference subsisted in your public opinions, that it was unfitting for you to lend your name to that Administration, whose measures you disapproved. Are you more likely
to

to agree with them, as ———, than you were as ———? Have *they* altered their conduct? Or do you mean to give up *your* opinions? What material change is there, as to the Ability and Experience accruing to Government? Is the Duke of GRAFTON older than Lord ROCKINGHAM? Or Lord SHELBURNE more knowing than the Duke of RICHMOND? Or Mr. TOWNSHEND (whom, however, Mr. PITT has not thought well enough of, to call to the Cabinet) steadier, and more industrious, than Mr. DOWDESWELL? They all mean to hang upon their lucrative posts, by knees, and hands, and head, till at length they shall be forced to let them go; but your Lordship, who has not that quality of adhesion to gainful office, will leave them to themselves; and their salaries to be paid them out of the money, which the papers have constantly assured us, was left by Mr. PITT in the Treasury; as the entire Fees of his Post of Secretary of State. I presume, upon the same unquestionable authority, that that disinterested Patriot has deposited, in the same Fund, the Pension of three thousand pounds per annum, which was granted him five years ago; and the public will be pleased to hear, that the profits of the office of Privy Seal, which are full *four thousand pounds* per annum, are applied in the same manner, with the sums above-mentioned.

Your

Your Lordship was not one of those, who, the moment the door was a-jar at St. James's, eagerly thrust in, in spite of every engagement; and though your letter informs me, that you consider yourself as under no private tie, yet to the public who has seen you act (such has been the unhappy complexion of our times) in the space of three years with three different Treasuries, there may arise some suspicion of obligation; which, whether it exists or no, it is upon every account well worth your while to examine. A farther objection may be made to your acceptance at this time, from the little likelihood there is of your permanency in office.

While I am writing, word is brought me, that the following Provisions have been made to the persons respectively undermentioned.

To the Earl of N——, an addition of 1000 l. per annum, to the 4000 l. per annum already annexed to the office of President of the Council.

To the said Earl of N—— a floating Pension of 4000 l. per annum during his life, to commence from the time of his quitting the Presidency of the Council.

To the said Earl of N—— the reversion of the office of clerk of the Hanaper in Chance-

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ty upon the death of the Duke of Chandos; for the term of any two Lives which the Earl of N—— shall please to name.

Encouraged by so disinterested and patriotic an example, the Lord High C——, that pattern to all true Englishmen, that unbiaſſed, uninfluenced Patriot, the Lord C——n, has got the Reversion of the First Tellers place in the Exchequer that ſhall become vacant for his Son ; and that there may be no period of his life, in which he ſhall be unadorned with the *ſpontaneous* graces of the Crown, he has condeſcended to accept of a Penſion of 1500 l. per annum upon the Irifh Eſtabliſhment, in caſe he ſhall quit the Seals before any Tellership ſhall be vacant.

This is the Act of Grace ; theſe the Medals that were to be ſcattered about at Mr. Pitt's acceſſion. This Licentiate in State Medicines ſeems to think *Penſions* the only Noſtrum for every Stage of the Public Diſorder.—Let us ſee a little what his Practice has been during his laſt Adminiſtration.

K—— of P—— penſioned.

When he himſelf retired in 1761, a Penſion of 3000 l. per annum for three lives.

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Instead

Instead of a Cabinet office for Lord LITTELTON, in the late Negotiation, Mr. PITT proposed a Pension.

In order to buy *out* one C——r, Three Pensions.

In order to buy *in* another C——r, Two Pensions.

For two Lords of the T——, in case they had been displaced by Lord TEMPLE, Mr. PITT proposed Pensions.

In short, let the emergency be what it will, this Political Bobadil, if there were twenty more, would not fail to cry out *Pension them too.*—Is it not rather singular that the D. of N——, who has been called a corrupt venal Minister, should never have attempted any thing like this, and should have twice refused a Pension offered to himself, which doubtless might have had the epithet of *spontaneous* tacked to it, and that so unbiassed, so uninfluenced, so incorrupt a Minister, as Mr. PITT should, in his own person, and that of his immediate friends, have loaded the establishment with Pensions, which would have been stiled enormous, even by the Pensioned Parliament of Charles the Second. But is it not rather serious too, that amidst our Public Distresses, our Party Feuds, our Artificial Scarcity, when this country is labouring, throbbing to the heart,
and

and tottering amidst a choice of difficulties, the attention of those, who have ever been esteemed able to support it, should be wholly turned to selfish gain, and private honour and emolument; that *they* should make choice of this hour of difficulty to bedeck themselves with titles, and to secure lucrative allowances; that *they* should behold the calamities of their country with the barbarous joy of the wild Cornish, who consider every gun fired in distress as a signal to them to plunder, who murder instead of assisting the wretched Crew, and are only anxious lest the Wreck should sink, before they have their share of the Spoil.

But it is needless to comment upon what speaks so plainly of itself. Sufficient arguments will probably arise in your Lordship's mind, from the nature of this transaction, and so open a bargain and sale, being made the ground work of an A——n to induce a suspicion, that such a system can neither derive credit to itself, or meet with the approbation of the Public, and consequently that it cannot be lasting. The free and independent part of these kingdoms will refuse it the sanction of their applause, and the spirited example which the City of London has lately given in resisting the mean intreaties which were made to them, and the attempts to surprize them into an address

of congratulation, will doubtless be followed by every other Public Body which may now be tampering with. Setting aside, however for the present, those considerations which must arise from the plan itself, from the idea of proscription which it holds out, from the general dissatisfaction, as well expressed by those who make a part of the Government, as by those who are daily deserting it; consider a little Mr. PITT's temper. Intractable as he is with his equals, will he be less so with those, whom whatever he may find it convenient to call them without doors, he treats in his own mind as children, and whom he will suffer no longer than they shall continue in the most implicit subserviency to him.

Will not Mr. PITT find, when his jealousy of Mr. GRENVILLE is a little abated, that he has forsaken his own Family for the sake of those, who having left him more than once, and now having left the Duke of NEWCASTLE, it is impossible he can safely trust.

Will Mr. TOWNSHEND, with his very superior talents and industry, long continue subordinate in a very displeasing part of Government, and will he be more disposed to do so from Mr. PITT's omitting to call him to the Cabinet, notwithstanding an Express Promise.

Will

Will the H. of C—— put itself into Mr. PITT's hands, when he is no longer in a situation either to awe or to cajole them?

Will the Nobility be conciliated to this new Peer, who has treated the most respectable of them either with defiance or neglect?

Will the people of this kingdom (whose good opinion Mr. PITT has frequently declared to be essential to a Minister) trust in him, whom they consider as having deserted their cause, and sacrificed their interests to his own private emolument; on the contrary, do not the cries and complainings in our streets remind us that their confidence is departed from him?

Upon the whole, has not Mr. PITT frustrated his Majesty's gracious intentions of a coalition? forsaken and betrayed his Brother, thrown himself upon men who cannot support *him*, and whom *he* cannot trust? for the sake of a Peerage, which has annihilated him in the Public Estimation, and of a Place which he might have taken with more reputation and more probability of permanency upon a broader plan?

Your Lordship will give these reasons the weight they shall deserve, and if they affect you, as I own they have done me, you will not, by a premature acceptance of an office, upon the present indigested narrow proscriptive

scriptive and unpopular plan, preclude yourself from making a part of an Administration, which I doubt not will soon be formed upon an extensive conciliating bottom.

Depend upon it, men will in general revolt at an idea of so much haughtiness and defiance as prevails at present, and will unite at least when awakened to it by a sense of Public Danger, in order to secure to this country National Respect abroad, and to themselves Private Ease and Happiness at home.

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